6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya,* for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 - RF1 Great Russia RF1

596 women and children of the household. The power of the bolshak was lifelong, but in case of mismanagement, prolonged illness or want of mental powers, the family adult male members or the village elders could remove him and place another adult male as the head man of the household.[2] All the property: land, farm implements, cattle, buildings, household furniture, and utensils were considered common property of all household members, particularly male adults. But women's clothing and other personal belongings, such as linen and canvas, brought as a dowry or produced by women were considered their private property. When such a household was broken up the common property was divided equally among all the adult male members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship.

The bolshak was assisted in his management by a family council (*soviet*) consisting of married male members, while the bolshuka was assisted by the married females. Though the bolshak's place after his death was taken by his eldest son or his eldest brother, it happened occasionally also that such a household came to be ruled by a woman, if she proved to be an exceptionally resolute personality and good manager.

596 178 476 The remnants of such a family collective persisted in some rural parts of Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Such a household in which some of the Old-Slavonic traditions were still in existence was looked upon as a labor association, as much as an association of blood-related families. This is why the heads of such a family commune were designated, not by parental names, as father or mother of the family, but by functional names, as managers of the common property.[3]

596 651 621 Originally the powers of the household soviet were an important check on the authority of the head elder. The soviet assured protection against inequity and tended to maintain equalitarian relationships among the married members of the household. However, early in the development of the Great-Russian society the events tended to favor the power of the bolshak. Following the practices of Mongol rule, frequent censuses were held and frequent levies were imposed on the population according to the number of households or according to acreage. The village community which composed a cess district was made jointly respon-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

sible for the whole amount of the tributes and taxes assessed. It was, therefore, in the interest of this land tax commune to favor concentration of power in the hands of the household head and to support his strictness in rule so that each household might contribute at the end of the fiscal year its share of the common tax assessment. With the lack of such a system of control, the taxes of the defaulters might fall on other members of the village community.

To meet the obligations to the tax commune it was necessary for each household to have sufficient manpower and all the farm equipment it needed. Household partition, which implied dispersal of manpower, need for new equipment, and increased taxation, was therefore frowned upon. Loitering or prolonged absence from the community also had to be discouraged. Early marriages, joint households, and rigid supervision by the elders were fostered. In addition, internal household conflicts provoked by forced regimentation and intensified because of lack of privacy, crowded quarters, insufficient food and clothing increased the need for autocratic rule:

> All in the household well know and have learned by experience that in the interest of the well-being of the household it is absolutely necessary that all obey one elder, who has knowledge and experience about the household and upon whom would depend all matters of husbandry.[4]

The landed nobility and the land-owning Church also supported the absolute power of the bolshak and disapproved of household partitions on their estates. The estate owners were bound to furnish the timber and other materials for the construction of new izbas in case of the division of an old household. They also had to provide the new households with farm equipment, all of which was a burden because it implied additional expense for the landlords. At the same time the government, which was constantly engaged in warfare and was increasingly in need of new recruits, found it more expedient to get these from large households so that the tilling of the soil would not suffer and the tax-paying powers would not decrease while military campaigns were taking place. Therefore, all the authori-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

592 Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's
771 neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world
776 where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection.
[789] The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

156 Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of
• 621 solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identi-
578 fication among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
[428] the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol tradi-
[582] tions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

593 In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[12] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

668 625 secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the princi- [643] pal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

661 668 As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose 621 function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and 651 maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

There was another official in this system of rural administration, the *pisar,* who, though only a salaried clerk, with no executive authority, frequently exerted great influence. He was usually a stranger to the commune because of his urban manners and dress. He might be a former divinity student, an army veteran, or a city clerk dismissed for inefficiency. He was ill paid as a commune clerk and inclined to make up for his low salary by accepting bribes.[8] But the real power in the village was often vested in the hands of the *uryadnik,* the village constable, who had manifold duties and many prerogatives. He tended to consider himself as Czar of the village and was inclined to be arbitrary and insolent. He often terrorized the peasants and "the government protected him in his practices, even to the point of prohibiting the newspapers from printing accounts of outrages he perpetrated."[9]

In the meantime other structural changes were taking place in the Russian village. Since earlier the landlords and now the government relied on a few peasants who controlled the mir, these often took advantage of their privileged position and tended to beguile the commune out of its best lands. Some of these people also owned taverns (*kabak*) and were money lenders and usurers. They tended to ape their masters, kept at a certain distance from other peasants and looked down upon them. Because of their greediness, misuse of power, and contemptuous attitude toward the peasants, they became known among the peasants as *miroedy* (mir-eaters) and as *kulaki* (fists).[10]

According to the established custom the decisions in the village assembly were arrived at unanimously and by acclamation. If there was a minority opinion the minority was expected to expressly or tacitly accept the view of the majority. In the Old-Slavonic village community and in the mir before serfdom a genuine unanimity rule was possible because that community was on the whole undifferentiated economically or socially, and was governed to a large extent by public consensus. But as soon as this rural community became stratified, the unanimity principle was exploited to the advantage of the dominant cliques. When serfdom was established, the unanimity principle was often employed to support the decisions and the whims of the landlords. And after emancipation, the police or an oligarchy of

[i.e. after the abolition of serfdom --Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose
●621 their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants
154 came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an
[156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in
625 the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family
156 and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[23]

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Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

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Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

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Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

the communistic tenets of the Dukhobortsy in such a way as to turn them to his own profit and advantage. Like other Dukhobortsy, Kapustin too believed that God was in every man, and therefore all men were equal. He said, however, that God first had revealed himself in Jesus and the soul of Jesus has then continually animated new bodies throughout many generations. And by virtue of its higher qualities, and the absolute command of God, the soul of Jesus as it passed from one man to another had invariably retained its identity, and the man in whom the soul of Jesus resided, unmistakenly knew he was Jesus:

> Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikisk whom many of older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me![28]

Kapustin introduced a complete community of goods among his followers. They worked the fields in common and divided the harvest among them. Storehouses were erected to provide against years of dearth or famine. Also various kinds of industries were introduced and the colony showed visible progress in the first few years of its existence. Kapustin had also assembled an advisory Council of thirty Elders about him, from among whom an inner circle of twelve was selected. These were known as "The Apostles." Before he died he endeavored to impose his son as his successor and claimed that when he died the soul of Jesus would enter the body of his son.

After Kapustin's death dissatisfactions grew stronger and manifested themselves in suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation. The Council of Elders developed into an inquisitional tribunal which ruled arbitrarily, interpreting justice according to their caprices. Those who submitted unconditionally were rewarded, those who were suspected of deviation were accused of treachery and of intention to go over to their "enemy" that is, the official Church, and were punished with torture and even with death. The house from which the Elders ruled became known as *Ray i muka*—paradise and torture.[29]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-